my neighbors, friends and old constituents, to be assured that I feel profoundly grateful for the cordial welcome you have extended to me. The circumstances under which I appear are novel and unusual. I do it in obedience to the request of friends whose intelligence I have been accustomed to observe; and if it be an uncommon thing for persons in my position to address assemblies of people, I can only say I hope to discuss topics in a manner not altogether unworthy of the attitude I occupy. I shall certainly indulge in no language which, in my opinion, will fall below the dignity of political discussion. The condition of my health and my position make it impossible for me to extend my voice over this vast assembly; but I trust I will become stronger as I proceed.

I have been asked, fellow-citizens, to speak at my own home, because the political organization with which I am connected has been assailed in an unusual manner; and, charged with treason to my own country, I appear before you to-day for the purpose of repelling certain accusations which have been made against me, personally, and industrionely circulated through other States of the Union. And next, to show that the principles upon which I stand

are the principles of the Constitution and the Union of our country. And, surely, if at any time the justification could be found by any man for addressing the people in the position which I occupy, it will be found in my case. Anonymous writers and wandering orators have chosen to tell the people that I, individually, am a disunionist and a traitor to my country. And they declare with assurance and affirm that I have exhibited a treason that makes, by comparison, Burr a patriot, and the memory of Arnold respectable. But, fellow citizens, before I come to these topics, I desire to make a comprehensive statement in regard to my position in connection with the Presidency of the United States.

I have been charged with a premature ambition. I have been charged with intriguing for this nomination; with leaping before the wishes of the people, and desiring to thrust myself before them for the highest office in their gift. To that I answer that it is wholly untrue. I have written to nobody soliciting support. I have conversed with nobody soliciting support. I have intrigued with nobody. have promised nobody. To these statements I challenge

contradiction from any human being. [Cheers.]
Mr. Breckinridge resuming—I did not seek or desire to be placed before the people for the office of President, by any Convention, or any part of any Convention. When I returned to the State of Kentucky, in the spring of 1859, and was informed that some partial friends were presenting my name to the public in that connection, and a certain editor (whose presence I see here,) in this State had hoisted my name for the Presidency. I said to him, "friend, I am not in any sense a candidate for the Presiand I desired that my name should be taken down from the head of his columns. It was done.

A very eminent citizen of the Commonwealth of Kentucky (Mr. Guthrie) was presented for that office. I was gratified to see it, and as far as my own declarations were concerned, I united cordially in presenting him to the suffrages of the American people; at no time, in or out of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, did I do an act or utter a word which would bring my name in conflict with his, or that of any other American citizen who desired, or whose friends desired for him, that position. And if you took the trouble to read the proceedings of the Charleston Convention, you will remember that when I received the vote of Arkansas, one of my friends arose and withdrew my name. declaring that I would not allow it to come in opposition to

the gentlemen before the Convention. When that Convention assembled at Baltimore, my feelings and my conduct were still unchanged. After the disruption which took place there, my name, without any soicitation on my part, was presented as a candidate. Previously, not deeming such a thing possible, I said I did not desire to be presented to the American people, but I am content with the honors which have been heaped upon me by my State and my country, and I look forward with pleasure to the prospects I have of serving my country in the Senate of the United States for the next six years. My name, however, was presented, and I felt that I could not refuse to accept the nomination under the circumstances, without abandoning vital principles and betraying my

It is said I was not regularly nominated, and that an eminent citizen of Illinois was regularly nominated for the Presidency, but that is a question I have not time to discuss today, and it has already been thoroughly exhibited and disletter of your delegates from this Congressional district .-I refer you to the masterly and explanatory speech recently delivered by my honorable friend in whose grounds we are met. I can only say that the Convention which assembled at the Front street Theatre at Baltimore, was devoid, not only of the spirit of justice, but of the forms of regularity. (Cheers.) The gentleman whom it presented, never received the vote required by the rules of the Democratic organiza-

Whole States were excluded and disfranchised in that Convention, not to speak of individuals; the most flagrant acts of injustice were perpetrated for the purpose of foreing a particular dogma upon the Democratic organization, and the gentleman who is the representative of that dogma and principles, which I will be able to show are repugnant alike to reason and the Constitution. Owing to the improprietylof these proceedings, a decided majority of the delegates from your own State withdrew from the Convention, declaring that it was not a National Convention of the real Democratic organization. The entire delegation from the fifteen Southern States, and of California and Oregon, with large minorities from other States, making in whole or in part delegations, from almost two-thirds of the States of the Confederacy, represented a National Democratic Convention, depending upon the authority and loyalty of the Dem-

But after all, the great question is, what are the principles (which ought to commend themselves to the American people) at issue in this canvass? These I will discuss before I am done, but before I proceed further, I will group together and answer a number of personal accusations some of which emanated in the State of Kentucky and others elsewhere, by which, through me, it is attempted t strike down the organization with which I am connected. It begets in me almost a feeling of humiliation to answer some of them, but as I have imposed upon myself the task I will go through them all as briefly as I can. (Cheers.) A voice—"Go it John."

I believe it has been published in almost every Southern

newspaper of the Opposition party that I signed a petition for the pardon of John Brown, the Harper's Ferry murderer and traitor. This is wholly untrue. So much for that. (Cries of "good.") It has been extensively charged and circulated that I was in favor of the election of General Taylor to the Presidency and opposed to the election of Cass and Butler. This, also, is wholly untrue. In the year 1847, there was a meeting in the city of Lexington, in which I participated, in which General Taylor was recommended for the Presidency of the United States. A difference of opinion existed at that time as to the political sentiments of that distinguished gentleman. I was assured, upon grounds satisfactory to me, that they coincided with my own political opinions, and I united in the meeting. Pretty soon afterwards I went to Mexico, and when I returned, twelve months afterwards, in 1848, I found the campaign in full blast, with General Taylor, the candidate of the Whigs, and Cass and Butler as the nominees of the National Democracy. It is well known to thousands of those within the sound of my voice, that as soon as I returned home, I took the stump in behalf of the Democracy, and maintained its doctrines to the best of my abilities-(voice-"all right,") and I was not afraid to do it, because they were the representatives of my principles, and you may judge of my zeal as one of those gentlemen was my old commander and my friend. It was said that I was not present, and did not vote at the election in Lexington, in 1848; and that is true, but with that fact has gone the explanation, which my opponents have never published, showing that it was my intention to be absent during the canvass, but it was not my intention to lose my vote.

You all know that at that time, as a citizen, that I could vote anywhere in the State, (being before the revision and adoption of our present Constitution,) but it is so happened that there were six or eight gentlemen accompanying me all of whom belonged to the Whig party, and they proposed to me that if I would not return to my own town and vote, they would not. If we had all voted, there would have been six or seven votes cast for Taylor, and only one cast for Cass and Butler. (Cheers.) I accepted the proposition. and we went hunting. (Laughter.) And if every man had done as well as myself, we would have carried the State by J. Redd, Nelson Butler, and George P. Jewett.

Another charge has been extensively circulated through-

I come to the fact that the only time I knew of the question of emancipation being raised, was in 1849, when we Constitution. Then Dr. Breckinridge and Mr. Shy were emancipationists. Mr. Wickliffe and I canvassed the county to the best of our abilities, in opposition, believing that the polls, Dr. Breckinridge voted against me, and I voted against him, (cheers,) because we were representing opposite principles, and just so would it be again, under similar circumstances. So much for that charge.

But I have seen pamphlets published and circulated all

over the Union for the purpose of proving that I was a knowto me were members of that order in that year, and if there is a man among you who belonged to the order, who ever gentleman in Congress who took a position against the organization. When I returned home in the spring of 1855, it was making good progress in this commonwealth, and although I had withdrawn from public life, to attend to my private affairs, I opposed it in repeated speeches all over

This statement may not be very acceptable to some gentlemen within the sound of my voice, but I do not want to deceive any man. I stand upon my principles and am willing to avow them without the slightest regard to consequennaturalized citizen, I would make a political difference. I question legislatively which they had agreed to leave to the

never uttered such a sentiment. (Great applause.) The underlying principle with me was this, that the condition of citizenship being once obtained, no question, either of birth or religion should be allowed to commingle with political consideration. [Applause.] I deem it only necessary to make these statements here succinctly and pass on, because I am speaking to assembled thousands who know

But, fellow-citizens, to come to more extended topics, it the attempt of his colleague to coerce an opinion out of him thought of mine hostile to the Constitution or the Union of the States. (Loud cheers.) which I am connected, have abandoned the ground on which we stood in regard to the territorial question in 1854 and '56 State. [Mr. Breckinridge here read from Mr. Douglas's speech a declaration that this point in the Nebraska bill was name, successfully, with the slightest taint of disloyalty to by the friends and supporters of Mr. Douglas, and by that eminent gentleman himself. I deny it, and I shall now proceed to prove my denial both as to myself and as to the party therein involved.

There was a body to whom we could refer the question are thus point in the Nebraska bill was point in the Nebraska bill was a judicial question, which he could not discuss, because by the Constitution and the Union. (Applause.)

Mr. Breckinridge, continued. On the 15th of May last, in the Senate, Mr. Douglas said—[Here Mr. B. read an extract from Mr. Douglas's speech, concluding with the assertion—

There was a body to whom we could refer the question.

GREAT SPEECH OF Hon. J. C. BRECKINRIDGE, and we thought it unnecessary further to debate, each party agreeing to acquiesce in the decision as rendered by the said body. I believe that none of my speeches in this connection were prepared by me, except by the briefest notes. Never was a single report of these speeches revised by me or written out in full. The reports of them are those which various persons chose to make. I have been amused to see various portions of what they call the Tippecanoe speech, and the divers reports of the reporters which they chose to make for the different papers at differ-

I have in my hands a report which reads as follows in eference to the Territorial question :-"The people of the Territories under the Kansas-Nebraska act, have the full right to aboush or prohibit slaverywhich principle is as old as the Republican government

Not only did I never atter such a sentiment, but I have no eason to believe that anybody even thought I uttered it. had never seen it in any newspaper anywhere; but I have no time to waste in comments upon the propriety or delicacy of a gentleman who is before the country for the office 👪 resident, in introducing the name of one who is also a canthat gentleman's opinions, I shall waste no time in discussion of the propriety of such a course. I wish to meet the accusation. The Hon. S. A. Douglas says in a series of papers which he has been reading in various States, and even recently in Concord, N. H.—I give his own language: There is not an honest man in all America," says Mr. Douglas, "that will deny that James Buchanan and John C. Breckinridge, in 1856, were pledged to the doctrine of nonintervention by Congress with slavery in the Territories,-[mark the word, it is there non-intervention] -- I made 856, when he was advocating his own claims to the Vice Presidency, and heard him go to the extreme length in faor of popular sovereignty in the Territories." Then speaking of other gentlemen from the South, who had been exof their speeches they advocated squatter sovereignty in its broadest sense." Here, in the space of twelve lines, you see non-intervention, popular sovereignty—all evidently conveying the same meaning—that I held doctrines of nonintervention as it was originally understood and engrafted into the legislation of the country, (cheers.) as I will proceed to show more fully in another part of my speech. But presume that Mr. Douglas in this statement meant to delare that in 1856, from the same stump, with me, that he advocated the doctrine that a Territorial Legislature had the ower to exclude slave property under territorial conditions; nd I also presume that he uses this expression in that sense, and this is the question that has been the whole point of dis-

Well, at no time, either before or after the passage of the utter the opinion that a Territorial Legislature, prior to the formation of a State Constitution, had the power to exclude slave property from the common Territories of the Union, and no other advocate of my doctrines can be found who

will substantially change this expression. Now I am to entertain you briefly by as clear an exposiion as I can make of the attitudes of the parties in regard to the question at issue. In 1854, we removed the restriction of the Missouri line, and passed the Kansas Nebraska bill through both houses of Congress and it became a law. The argument of those, North and South, who opposed the repeal of the Compromise, was that the Territories should e left open to settlement. There was but one point upon which the friends of the bill differed. The Southern friends of the measure, and a tew of its Northern friends, denied ne power, either of Congress or the Territorial Legislature

to exclude any description of property. The other party assumed the ground that the Territorial Legislature had the power of exclusion. It was a constitutional question, however, and they agreed not to make it a matter of Legislative dispute, but to insert a provision in to the Supreme Court of the United States, until the matter in [controversy amounts to one thousand dollars; and in order that this question might be tried before the Supreme ourt a clause was inserted to meet the contingency. The period between the passage of that bill and the decision or the Supreme Court, all persons on each side entertained

We in the South, held that the Territorial Legislature did the Territorial Legislature did have the power We suspreme Court of the United States to determine the constiutional question therein involved.

There was a body to whom we could refer the question, party agreeing acquiesce in the decision as rendered by the | plause.) said body. I think that is a pretty plain statement on that point. I make it to show that there was a vow taken by he Southern freends of the measure in Congress, and among them a vow taken by your humble speaker to sup-

Mr. Breckinridge here read some extracts from his speech elivered in the House of Representatives in 1854. We were villing, he continued, to have the question decided by the Courts of the United States. Again, I say it was contended, spon the one hand, (upon the idea of the equality of the States under the Constitution and their common property in the Territories,) that the citizens of the slaveholding States may remove to the Territories with their slaves, and here legally hold them until the Territory is resolved into a

In that capacity it may exclude them. On the other hand, it is said that slavery, being in conflict with common right, can exist only by the force of positive law, and it is denied that the Court ever furnished the law. I said that we demand that all citizens of the United States shall be allowed o enter the common Territory with the Constitution alone in their hands, for that instrument protects the title of the master to his slave in this common Territory. You cannot omplain if it does not protect his title. We ask no help om Congress. If difficulties occurred we were to let them submitted to the court.

Now, upon my own personal vindication, the doctrines announced by me in that speech were just such as I have ever declared in the Commonwealth of Kentucky; such as I have ever declared in every public address in Ohio, Indiana, Michigan and Pennsylvania. Afterwards, when it was understood that I had been charged that I had admitted that this power belonged to the Territorial Legislature, in he month of September or October, 1856, the editor of the entucky Statesman, published in this city, alluding to this charge, made the following statement, to which I beg leave o refer you. Mark you, this was before the Presidential

Mr. Breckinridge then read from an editorial in the Ken that during his tour through Indiana and Ohio, he (Hr. B.) avowed the sentiments he had often proclaimed in Kentucky, and which are already embodied in the Cincinnati Platform, that he denied that the Democratic party was in its Federal relations a pro-slavery party; that it was neither such a party nor an anti-slavery party: that it negatived the interference of the Federal Government, whether to introduce or exclude slavery, and left the Territories open to common to form its own Constitution, and enter the Union without discrimination by Congress, on account of its allowance or prohibition of slavery, and that the statement that Mr. B. advocated squatter sovereignty was untrue. Mr. Breckinridge then continued. In the autumn of the

same year I received a Louisiana paper containing some remarks of General Mills, who heard my speech, in which he denied that I had admitted this doctrine of the Territorial power. He sent me slip containing his speech. In the same month, before the Presidential election, the Federal Government, except for one or two protective power of each new State to settle the question in its con- disunion organization—that we seek to break up this constitution." These are my doctrine and those of our platform, and, what is more, of the constitution. [Great cheering.] Now, fellow citizens, against the statement of that distinguished Senator, in which he undertakes to prove allegations against myself by himself, I thus oppose my

Presidential election; the testimony of Gen. Mills, who forty thousand majority. (Applause.) Among those with me, I remember the names of three of my friends—Thomas swer to the latter gentleman's, containing my opinion of the question at that time, and what has ever since been my opin- ring, cry "disunion!" (Prolonged laughter and cheers.) ion. (A voice-Now you are talking.) I think I have proout the Southern States, that I was an emancipationist in that I was an emancipationist at some time. That the charge is unfounded in fact, and I will add that the nected, are laboring for the disruption of the Confederacy. [Mr. B. read an extract from a letter from Hon. George position I assumed was that taken by all the Southern friends I do not reply now to what Mr. Douglas says all over New Undoubtedly, a number of gentlemen who were dissatisfied Robertson, published in a Southern paper, having reference of the Nebraska bill, and by a portion of its Northern England, in Virginia, and wherever he goes, to his position on this question, and alluding to his private friends. These were our private opinions—these were quite natural for a gentleman as much interested as he is to the Presidency, and sustain me on this platform, and if I was entirely refitted and newly furnished last Spring, im-

We had agreed to refer that to the highest tribunal in the were electing delegates to the Convention to form a new Constitutional Democracy from the charge of having abandoned the position they took in 1854-5-6, I turn upon my accuser, and undertake to show that he himself abandoned the agreement he solemnly made at the time the Kansas. year. (Applause.) the interests of both races in the Commonwealth would be Nebraska bill passed the Congress of the United States, promoted by the continuance of their present relation. At (great applause) and I do not make myself a witness against and antecedents were known, one of the oldest and most him to do it. I will prove it by himself. (Voices "good," and applause.) On the 2d of July, 1856, in the debate upon a bill to authorize the people of Kansas to form a whose bone and body is disunion. I refer to Mr. Critten-Constitution preparatory to admission into the Union as a den, in a speech made at Louisville. I have known and State, when the question arose as to what was the true admired him, and he has known me. Towards him I have nothing in the State of Kentucky. (Laughter.) I have no the power of the Territorial Government, Mr. Trumbull of and cordial esteem. These are reasons which, even if I had

the bill. "And be it further enacted, That the provision in the act saw me in one of your lodges, who did not know that I was to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, which nois in terms of eulogy, he speaks of his fellow-citizens in then as now recognized as one of the most uncompromising | declares it to be the true intent and meaning of said act not | this language. opponents of that order—let him be good enough to say so now. (A voice—He ain't here.) I believe I was the first clude it therefrom but to leave the nearly thereof perfectly lude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States, was intended and does confer upon or leave to the ter and applause.) Like a humane lawyer, he gives me the people of the Territory of Kansas full power at any time, benefit of a doubt, and for this I thank him. (Renewed through its Territorial Legislature, to exclude slavery from

said Territory, or to recognize or regulate it therein. There was Mr. Trumbull's amendment against which an now is to relieve myself from the imputation of being a disvershelming majority of the Senate voted, including Gen. overwhelming majority of the Senate voted, including Gen. Cass and Senator Douglas. Let me, however, do Mr. Doug- than to have it sound like the reluctant confession of a sorlas the justice to say that he voted against that amendment. ces. I am represented to this day as having said that I not because he did not believe the Territorial Legislature would make a difference between one of my own religious had the power to exclude slavery from the Territory, but belief, and another; and that between an unnaturalized and because he did not believe it was consistent to decide the ing a disunionist ]

> Gen Cass said [Mr. B. here quoted from Gen. Cass, to show that the North and the South differed about the powers that might be given a Territorial Legislature, and that the Kansas bill left that to be adjudged by the court, by which alone the constitutional question could be settled.]

Finally, (Mr. Breckinridge continued,) Mr. Douglas, in

by their decision."] I think I have shown that upon the point of dispute be- to-day.

tween the friends of the Kansas Bill. as to the power of a agreed to refer it to the Supreme Court, and when it has Constitutional they are not sectional, for the Constitution is indicted for felony, because, he says, it is no crime under indicted for felony, because, he says, it is no crime under leading to the Supreme Court, and when it has constitutional they are not sectional, for the Constitution is been judicially determined, we should abide by their decision. Now hear with me while I read a very little from the who stands upon the Constitution can neither be sectional decision of the Supreme Court of the U. States in the Dred nor a disunionist. These principles are taken almost ver-Scott case. Let us for a moment turn to the calm, enlightened. ne Judges except two, and was attered by the illustrious Chief Justice of the United States. Mr. Breckingidge quoted at considerable length from the

that opinion, and continued as follows: Territorial Legislature? They decide that the Territories partment of the Government must protect it when it behave been acquired and are held by the Federal Government, and that the citizens of all the States may hold and idate with me, and giving his personal testimony. As to enjoy their property in them until they take upon themelves the functions of sovereignties, and are admitted into

Nothing less than a State being competent to determine the ques ion of slavery or no slavery, they declared that the citizen enters any territory with the Constitution in his hand. and that the Federal Government can exercise no power over his property there which that instrument has not conferred, and they declare that since the Federal Government cannot do it, still less can it authorize a Territorial Government to exercise those powers which it could not enforce up- day. speeches from the same stump with John C. Breckinridge in on any local government-a right to distinguish between slave property and other kinds of property where no distinction exists—that property in slaves is recognized by the Constitution of the United States, and there is no word in that instrument which gives the Congress of the United States ressing themselves in the North, he says, "In every one greater power over it or which entitles that property to less protection than any other property, and that the only power which the Congress of the United States has, is in guard- gentleman is devoted to the Union. ing and protecting the rights of citizens. Language could

and therefore nobody is bound until a case comes from a to disunion Territory and is regularly taken up. I reply, we agreed to refer it to the supreme judicial tribunal upon any case properly arising and coming before that august body. It was a proper case and properly decided by this Court. It covers points of difference between the friends of the Nebras ka bill. It is candid, clear and statesmanlike.

Now I have shown you the points of difference between Kansas-Nebraska bill, in Congress, did I ever entertain or us on that bill, and the agreement between the friends of the bill. I have shown you the decision of the Supreme Court. We have arrived at a point where there should have been harmony and peace-a point agreed upon-the only point of difference had been determined by the highest ju licial authoray of the Union. Of course the constitutiona question was settled according to the agreement. The opinion of the Supreme Court was delivered in

Everything was quiet until the year 1858, when the Senator from Illinois (Mr. Douglas) was a candidate for re-election from that State, and then, for the first time in the history of American politics, we find the opinion advanced that there was a mode by which the subordinate authorities may overrule the opinion of the highest Court in the Union. Then we find the agreement to abide by the decision the Court, violated by the declaration made that an insubordinate Territorial authority may confiscate or exclude from

without regard to the opinion of the Supreme Court to the In a debate between Senator Donglas and Mr. Lincoln the former said.-" The next question propounded to me by the bill referring the question to the Supreme Court for de- Mr. Lincoln is-Can the people of a Territory in any lawful that in my opinion, the people of a Territory can, by lawful means, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the forma-

tion of a State Constitution." That question it was agreed, in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, to refer to the Supreme Court, and it was decided, as I have just shown you, the year before this speech was made by gress nor the Territorial Legislature has the power to exclude | what the decision of the Supreme Court may be, has the not have the power. Mr. Douglas and his friends held that | slavery, but its only right and duty is to guard and protect | right to exclude slave property from a Territory; that the it. I have shown you that Mr. D. agreed to submit the you may take it there, it must be held subject to such laws ended that question and referred it by a bil to the Su- question to that Court, and that he sequiesced in that de- as the local Legislature may make. The Supreme Court hopelessly divided. Will Democrats still close their it is one involving the equality of the States of this Union, contradictory, than to say that while you may go there, and we thought it unnecessary further to debate it, each | and the vital rights of more than one half of them. (Ap "It matters not," says Mr. Douglas, "what way the

> whether slavery may or may not go into a Territory under goes. (Applause.) the Constitution. They all looked to the period when they should come into he Union as a State, as the time when the Territorial au horities might act on the subject of property, and hold or exclude the slave property of the south. (Applause.)ime will not allow me to do much more than state these opositions, but I will read short abstracts from the celerated report made by the Committee of Thirteen, of which Mr. Clay was chairman, which resulted in the compromise measures of 1800. It is calm and lucid, has no clap-trap phrases, and puts me in mind of the language used by the Supreme Court.

[Mr. Breckmridge here quoted from vol. 21st of the Globe, art 1st page 915 ] He continued-That was the doctrine of non-intervention 1850. It was no interference to exclude by Congress, or Territorial Legislature, but to leave the question to be decided by the people when they came to form their State

Mr. Breckinridge here read from a speech of Daniel Webeter, in which the position is taken that Territorial Governments are in a state of pupilage under the protection of the eneral Government; that they have no power not given to em by Congress; that it is our duty to provide for the ople of the Territorial Governments; to secure their peace, secure property, to assign to them a subordinate Legisative authority; to see that the protection of their persons for; to maintain them in that state until they grow into sufficient importance in point of population to be admitted into the Union as a State, upon the same footing with the original States.] Mr. Breckinnidge continued-Do you suppose that Daniel

Webster, after the opinion of the Supreme Court that I have read to you, would have considered it becoming to him to point out some contrivance or device by which the Territoucky Statesman of October, 1856, in which it was stated rial Legislature could violate the Constitutional rights of en to expound. The Republican organization has taken pregreat and good men who ligured in the earlier part of your story. (Cheers.) The Judges and Governors of these Territorial Govern-

nents are appointed by the President and Senate of the U. States, and paid out of the public treasury; so that the very egislature which they invoke to exclude your property om the Territories is one whose daily expenses are paid settlement from all the States; that each State was entitled out of the treasury, out of the money to which that very property contributes by taxation. (Applause.) The prace of Government has been always different. [Mr. B. here entered into an argument to show that Congress has power to protect property in Territories, and in Laws.

refutation of the posit on recently taken by the Senator from linois, that Congress had never exercised this power.] The principles I have tried feebly to vindicate here, he continued, are the principles upon which the Constitutional Democracy stands to-day. If they are the principles of the Constitution and the

all sections in the common territory, and the absolute with whom I am connected, are disunionists, supporting a strue the Constitution so as to take away all our rights. federacy of States. I hardly know, so far as it is a personal charge against myself, how to answer it. [A voice-" Tell 'em it sa lie."] The whole stock in trade of these anonymous writers and

wandering orators over the country seems to be the cry of wn statement.

Next in proof, I read to you from my speech in 1854, in

disunion. "This man and his party," they say, "attempt to break up this Union of States." We reply-How can Congress; the article in the Lexington paper before the principles be sectional, or tend to dismion, which are based upon the Constitution? And yet the large number of young heard that speech at Tippecanoe, and my own letter in an- gentlemen who are engaged in ringing belis still, with tongues as long and heads as empty as the bells which they From sources yet more eminent comes the information disunionist. (Cheers and laughter.) Indeed, by his declaration we must all be disunionists in Kentucky, for he de-Union. Now, gentlemen, having vindicated myself and the clares that those who assert that the Territorial Legislature has no power to exclude slave property, and that Congress should interfere for its protection, are disunionists; and that is what the whole Legislature of Kentucky said last

In my own State, where certainly I thought my character meaning of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and the limitation of cherished, and expect to cherish, relations of respectful doubt that a very considerable proportion of those listening fered the following amendment as an additional section to ground for it, would prevent any but perfect courtesy in reply. After speaking of Mr. Lincoln in terms as complimentary as his principles merit, and the Senator from Illi-

> [Mr. Breckinridge here quoted the reference to himself, and closed as follows : -] I thank my venerable and distinguished friend for the hope he yet entertained that I am not a disunionist. (Laughcheers.) As to my connection with a party whose principles tend that way, I may speak of that presently. My object

> rowful friend. (Applause and laughter.) [Mr. B., in passing, paid an eloquent tribute to Gen. Lane, and continued to speak of the charge against himself of be-

(Cries of "That you're not.") Born within sight of this spot, known to you for near fory years, your representative in the Legislature, in Congress, d having held other situations of trust, I invite any one to point to anything in my character or antecedents which would sanction such a charge or such an imputation.—

(Cheers) I will not degrade the dignity of my declaration party held the opinion that a Territorial Legislature had the by epithets; but I proudly challenge my bitterest enemy to the same debate, used the following language in speaking of point to an act, to disclose an utterance, or to reveal a

We agreed to refer it to the judiciary—we agreed to abide and you can judge whether they accord with the position of the country? There are disunionists all over the country, we their decision "?

platform, and these are the principles averred. If they are stitution. The Governor of Ohio refuses to restore a man Constitutional they are not sectional, for the Constitution is broad enough to cover the whole Union. (Cheers.) He broad enough to cover the whole Union. (Cheers.) He broad enough to cover the whole Union. (Cheers.) He broad enough to cover the whole Union. (Cheers.) He broad enough to cover the whole Union. (Cheers.) He broad enough to cover the whole Union. (Cheers.) He broad enough to cover the whole Union. (Cheers.) He broad enough to cover the whole Union. (Cheers.) He broad enough to cover the whole Union. (Cheers.) He laws of Ohio to steal a negro in the State of Wisconsin. The service of the laws of Ohio to steal a negro in the State of Wisconsin. The service of the laws of Ohio to steal a negro in the State of Wisconsin. The service of the laws of Ohio to steal a negro in the State of Wisconsin. The service of the laws of Ohio to steal a negro in the State of Wisconsin. The service of the laws of Ohio to steal a negro in the State of Wisconsin. The service of the laws of Ohio to steal a negro in the State of Wisconsin. The service of the laws of Ohio to steal a negro in the State of Wisconsin. The service of the laws of Ohio to steal a negro in the State of Wisconsin. The service of the laws of Ohio to steal a negro in the State of Wisconsin. The service of the laws of Ohio to steal a negro in the State of Wisconsin. The service of the laws of Ohio to steal a negro in the State of Wisconsin. The service of the laws of Ohio to steal a negro in the State of Wisconsin. The service of the laws of Ohio to steal a negro in the State of Wisconsin. The service of the laws of Ohio to steal a negro in the State of Wisconsin. The service of the Suprement of the laws of Ohio to steal a negro in the State of Wisconsin. The service of the laws of Ohio to steal a negro in the State of Wisconsin. The service of the laws of Ohio to steal a negro in the State of Wisconsin. The service of the Suprement of the laws of Ohio with the laws of Ohio with the laws of the Marshal, is protected by an armed mob. It has cured thous udicial utterance of the most august t ibunal upon the earth. supported by the precedents and practice of the Govern-Repeated applause ) This opinion was concurred in by all ment. They are the principles upon which we may well Ored Scott decision, commenting on the points maintained platform? The candidates for Governor of this State last ion of the Supreme Court of the United States to whom we year both held that Territorial Legislatures have no power making inroads in every direction—at Harper's Ferry—

> comes necessary. Mr. Joshua Bell, I believe, went a step further, by exthese principles, and the Senate and Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, by the unanimous vote of both parties, endorsed them as being Constitutional and true, by las, to show that his design was to disorganize the Demthe following resolutions, which I must read. It is so apt, so lature of Kentucky were here read.] That is, word for word, the opin on of the Supreme Court, and the platform of was to be charged to the rule or ruin policy pursued by the the National Democratic Convention, on which I stand to-

Both parties in Kentucky, at the polls and by the unanimous votes of their representatives in the Legislature, have declared that these principles are those of the Constitution. I might pause here; but in support of these principles I want the authority of Mr. Crittenden himself. (Applause.) Whatever doubts he may have as to my fidelity to the Coustitution and the Union, I do not hesitate to say that eminent

I do not believe he would advocate principles which he

[Mr. B. here read the 3d, 4th, and 5th of Senator Davis' esolutions, and referred to Mr. Crittenden's vote for them ] Here I have the vote of my distinguished friend, declaring the Union of the States rests upon the equality of rights among them-that neither Congress nor the Territorial Le-

upon which we stand to day. (Cheers.)

My distinguished friend followed these resolutions by a those rights. I trust that the time will never come when any Teritorial authority will be so reckless of its constitutains the position on which we stand, in language which ompares well with the decision of the Supreme Court. He says :- [The extract read from Mr. Crittenden's speech declares that a Territorial Government is a creature of Congress, endowed only with the powers conferred upon it by | nation to the Presidency? On a pilgrimage to his moththe Territory the property of citizens of the Southern States,

its creator, and with no particle of sovereignty.] Further er in Western New York; "betrayed" into a squatter on in the same speech, Mr. C. uses the following language: Mr. Crittenden goes on to say "That as the Territorial overnment has no sovereign or independent right to act on | Southern nigger-owners in Rhode Island; softening this subject, the Supreme Court of the United States has de- down, and indirectly advising the people to go for Bell, termined that every citizen of the United States may go into at Norfolk, and finally, (see resolutions of Charlotte cision: and all parties were bound to abide by the decision made by that august tribunal upon this constitutional question. We now prove that there was such an arrangement.

Ordinarily a bill correct by the decision that the Constitution is to protect that there was such an arrangement.

Ordinarily a bill correct by the decision that the Constitution is to protect that there was such an arrangement.

Ordinarily a bill correct by the decision that the Constitution is to protect that there was such an arrangement.

Ordinarily a bill correct by the decision that the Constitution is to protect that there was such an arrangement.

Ordinarily a bill correct by the decision that the Constitution is to protect that there was such as an arrangement. Ordinarily a bill cannot be taken from a Territorial Court | me answer a hundred times from every stump in Illinois, therefore, when the proper or extreme case occurs, when nothing significant in all this? Does he hope to carry by Supreme Court of the United States shall require such interposition, that it is the duty of Congress to interpose and grant protection." Nobly and well said in language worthy of his exalted character and reputation. Mr. Douglas, in which decision they say that neither Con- | your votes upon it, that a Territorial Legislature, no matter

cision. I quoted Mr. D. again concerning what he calls "an | says the Territorial Legislature cannot exclude it, and Mr. abstract question." The question may be "abstract," but C. says nothing can strike him as more unconstitutional and there is somebody stronger or mightier than the Constitution that can take away that which the Constitution says Supreme Court may here decide as to the abstract question and which if not recognized, he will rend and destroy as he

> Union, has declared in the Senate, and recognized, by his of going for the "strongest man against Lincoln." - Weakness, &c. See special directions for this. For Sall vote as Senator, the principles upon which we stand as the principles of the Constitution. (Cheers.)
>
> I cannot enlarge. I appeal to you if I have not, with rea-I cannot enlarge. I appeal to you if I have not, with reasonable certainty—I may say conclusively—repelled the accusation against me; if I have not shown that, it is neither was a Bell and Everett man, for Governor? The lately I nor the party which nominated me, but Mr. Douglas who increased Whig vote in Buncombe did not indicate And by all respectable Druggists throughout the country has broken faith; that by the agreement at the time of the passage of the Kansas Nebraska bill, the Constitutional

point was to be left to the Supreme Court. Have I not shown that the Supreme Court sustained our the agreement thus made has been violated by the declaration that a subordinate authority may assert the constitutional right to exclude slave property, when the Court says it has not that power ?- who has abandoned the ground or violated the agreement?

I have shown that the principles upon which we stand have been endorsed and sanctioned by the practice of the Legislature, and by an overwhelming majority of the whole Democratic party of Kentucky, and declared by Mr. Crittenden to be sound and true. (Cheers.) I think I have and the security of their property are all regularly provided | piled up a pyramid of fact and argument in support of | Thus, fellow-democrats, are the elements combining sideration of every intelligent man. I have tried to do it by legitimate facts and arguments. I am not conscious of aving appealed to any prejudice.

Fellow-citizens, can you bear with me a little longer? A voice. "Yes, tor a week; go on!" I know of but one political organization, now before the bited States, which asserts the principles I have undertak-Southern States? Not he, nor would Clay, nor any of the cisely the same ground from an opposite point of view, and they say we have no rights in the territories with our property. They say Congress has a right to exclude it, and it is its duty to do so, and they are willing to see the Territorial egislature do it, if Congress does not.

er. Gentlemen tell us that they are advocating the claims and correct. of these distinguished gentlemen upon the principles of the Constitution, the Union, and the enforcement of the take the slight trouble of leaving his name and residence at

I presume that there is scarcely a man in this assemblyperhaps no one North or South, who will admit that he is against the Union, the Constitution, and the enforcement of the laws. But yet they entertain the most diverse and opposite opinions as to the best mode of sustaining the Constitution, and the character of the laws to be enforced. Mr. answered him, saying "Hands off of the whole subject by Union, then we are Constitutionalists and Unionists. (Cries | Seward, Mr. Burlingame, Mr. Giddings, will tell you they be Federal Government, except for one or two protective are for two or three months you have are for the Union, but it is their own sort of Union they heard loud and incessant clamor that I and those Democrats want. They say they are for the Constitution, but they con-(Cries of "that's so.")

That, gentleman would seem to exhaust the subject. Sound men with Constitutional principles," which principles I have announced in the form recognized by American politics, to be re-asserted by means of the ballot-box. But a word on another subject. It is said that, although I am not a disunionist, and the principles I assert are not, yet the object of the organization by which I have been nominated is to break up this Confederacy, and I suppose they have selected me as the tool with which to execute the

(A voice-" A bad instrument!" Cheers.) I have no doubt that a great many gentlemen in the Southern States of the Union think that their Constitutional rights will never be recognized. A few are, perhaps, per se disunionists, though I doubt if there are fifty such in the Union. with the compromise measures of 1850, now prefer me for

What is the charge? Merely that the entire delegations of some States, supported by the mass of the Democracy in all the Southern States, made this nomination. Do they say the whole of this mass were disunionists? Why, gentlemen, the country is in a bad way if this be so. But the charge is a reckless one. How is it with the State of Kentucky, which is going to vote in accordance with those principles? Is the State of Kentucky a disunion State? The delegations from California and Oregon were in the

Convention. They reside thousands of miles away from our private strifes. What have they said that would lead any man to suppose that they would break up the Union of the States? They are impartial arbitrators of this dispute, and they tell our Northern brethren they must do justice and give equality in the Union; and that on such principles they can maintain the Constitution and the Union. That is what Oregon and California say, as well as large majorities of the delegations from other States of the Union. Senators and members of the House, representatives from both sections of the Union, men who have filled the highest stations in the public councils, but have now withdrawn from public life-all concur in declaring that these are the principles of the Constitution, and they are not afraid to execute them. Cheers.)

Gentlemen, the charge of disucion is baseless. Advantage has been taken of the cordial loyalty of the people of Kentucky. To the surprise and delight of the gentlemen who engaged in it, the scheme took etter than they expected; but I am satisfied that the sober second thought of the people will recall them to the assertion of their principles. Kentucky will never abandon a principle which she has de-clared to be the principle of the Constitution and the Union. (Lord applause.)

Popular Sovereignty or Squatter Sovereignty. The names of Clay, Webster, and others, have been invoked to sustain this doctrine of Territorial power to exclude slave property. I assert that from 1848 down to the period when this right to exclude slave property pending its Territorial condition. When did Clay ever hold such doctrines? When were such doctrines ever embodied in the Compromise measures of 1850?

I will not answer the newspaper accusations, that this gentleman and the other gentleman, who has held extreme opinions, support me. Gentlemen of far more extreme opinions support both the other candidates. What if B. C. and D. whose opinions you do not like, think better of a certain set of principles than they do of a certain other set of principles, or of no principles at all, and so choose to vote for us; are you going to put the stigma of disunion upon half

the Supreme Court and the Government, as I have shown it working to overthrow the Union. They are those who deny constitutional rights-who are engaged to-day in trampling After reading the resolutions he continued. That is the under foot the plainest rights guaranteed to us by the Conhelp others of the United States-the anti-slavery spirit agreed to refer this disputed question of the power of the to exclude our property, and each contended that every deto exclude the South from all the vast domain of the Union, and thus to begin the Irrepressible Conflict. Yet, when a pressing the opinion that the time had now arrived when political organization ventures to ask for constitutional Government should interfere. Your Conventions endorsed | rights, you turn with clamorous cries of "disunion," upon your own fellow citizens who work for your rights.

Mr. Breckinridge then reviewed the course of Mr. Doug ocratic Party in the South, as well as at the North; and statpertinent, so conclusive. [The resolutions of the last Legis- | ed that if the efforts to defeat Lincoln in New York, Pen-Senator from Illinois. Mr. Breckinridge concluded by an elequent and fervent

appeal to the Democracy of Kentucky not to forsake the constitutional principles on which they stood. He retired in a state of great physical exhauston, having to omit several topics on which he intended to speak. The conclusion of his speech was greeted with thunders of applause.

For the Journal.

"Douglas or Nobody."--What is to Come of it? EDITORS JOURNAL :- The position of a portion of our The constantly increasing land the pulls and the pulls could not make it plainer.

I have long used the PILLS and the satisfaction which the case which went to the Satisfaction which the country; and if I could have his sanction and preme from the United States was not the case which went from the territories but a case that went from the territories but a case that went from the position of a portion of a p went from the territories, but a case that went from a State; way in proving that they are Constitutional, and not tending Charleston and Baltimore, is a source of unfeigned regret to those who have been wont to regard the Democ- on different portions of the bowels. racy as the sheet-anchor of safety to the South. The The FAMILY CATHARracy as the sheet-anchor of safety to the South. The hopeless and almost sectional division of the party—the ded from a variety of the purest Vegetable Extracts. that these questions are not minute nor unimportant—that adoption of two platforms, and the nomination of two which act alike on every part of the alimentary called a second and series and adoption of two platforms, and the nomination of two which act alike on every part of the alimentary called a series and and series and an act alike on every called a series and act alike a candidates, whether regularly or not, are matters of history. The deed has been consummated, and the "rule tic is needed, such as Decrangements of the Stomach rights of any citizen, and that if any right be assailed by the or ruin "policy of one man has borne some of its legiti-Territorial Legislature, it becomes necessary for Congress to interfere to protect that right—precisely the principles four years ago, was so strong in the affections of the peo- in a long course of Appetile, a Creep the long to the l ple of North Carolina as to be their first choice for ing Sensation of Cold over the body, Restlessness, Hend My distinguished friend followed these resolutions by a speech, which I find in the Daily Globe. It is true that he expressed a hope that the time might never come when it delegates to the National Convention oppose him; three lism, a great ple of North Carolina as to be their first choice for ache, or Weight in the Diseases, Worms in Child dren or Adults, Rheumann three lism, a great ple of North Carolina as to be their first choice for ache, or Weight in the Diseases, Worms in Child dren or Adults, Rheumann three lism, a great ple of North Carolina as to be their first choice for ache, or Weight in the Diseases, Worms in Child dren or Adults, Rheumann three lism, a great ple of North Carolina as to be their first choice for ache, or Weight in the Diseases, Worms in Child dren or Adults, Rheumann three lisms, a great ple of North Carolina as to be their first choice for ache, or Weight in the Diseases, Worms in Child dren or Adults, Rheumann three lisms, a great ple of North Carolina as to be their first choice for ache, or Weight in the Diseases, Worms in Child dren or Adults, Rheumann three lisms, a great ple of North Carolina as to be their first choice for ache, or Weight in the Diseases, Worms in Child dren or Adults, Rheumann three lisms, a great ple of North Carolina as to be their first choice for ache, or Weight in the Diseases, which is the Carolina as to be their first choice for ache, or Weight in the Diseases, Headwould be necessary for Congress to intervene to protect take no part, and only one supports his claims. Why to which flesh is heir, too the change? Let his defection to the party-his oppo- advertisement. Dose, 1 to tional obligations as to make it necessary for Congress to sition to Democratic men and measures—the pertinacity declare its acts void. (Cheers.) But in his speech, he suseignty," and his ill-natured flings at Southern men and wholesale by the Trade in all the large towns. Southern institutions, answer. Where do we find Mr. Douglas since his quasi nomi-

> speech at every depot; eating clams and sneering at Virginia or Nerth Carolina, or have his friends in those States ever hinted at such a thing to him? Why does always presents us with the same essential elements, and he come here then, and why are a few Democrats in this gives of course the True Standard. Analyze the Blood of State anxious to get up a separate electoral ticket for a person suffering from Consumption, Liver Complaint, Dys-Mr. Douglas says, and to day stands upon it, and claims your votes upon it, that a Territorial Legislature, no matter what the decision of the Supreme Court may be, has the tic Douglas meetings" are gotten up in various parts of founded upon this Theory-hence its astonishing successthe State, and the fact published abroad that we are There are eyes to the fact that the living, moving element in these adapted to the deficiencies of the Blood in different disease. demonstrations is Know-Nothing Whiggery in disguise? Who composed the first Douglas meeting in North Carolina, since the Baltimore Convention? In the language petite, and from all Chronic Complaints arising from the you may hold and enjoy. Just what Mr. Donglas asserts, and which if not recognized, he will rend and destroy as he goes. (Applause.)
>
> I derive some satisfaction from the fact that the Hon. J. Crittenden, whose name and authority will go far in this is reported to have spoken at length in favor retain. The No. 4 is for Female Irregularities. Hysteria, much defection to Douglas from the Opposition, prior to the August election.

Again, the Western Democrat tells us that the Dougconstruction of the Constitution? Have I not shown that las party is small, very small in Mecklenburg, yet they get up a meeting that shows well in print. Some worthy men and good democrats are connected with that-more's the pity. And Moore still-Carthage comes to the rescue and a big gun is fired in that ancient burg. A long list of delegates is appointed to attend the "Mass Meeting Government, affirmed by the highest judicial tribunal in the of Judge Douglas' talents and wisdom "at Raleigh ! world, voied to be true by the two political parties in Kentucky in 1859, unanimously asserted by both branches of the that the meeting was small and composed in part of Whigs. The "able and cloquent" speeches he didn't hear, though present.

principles which ought to commend itself to the grave con- to give the State to Bell and Everett. Shall our party, with a majority of ten thousand now for the National State Rights Candidate for President, Mr. Breckinridge, be divided and rendered inefficient by the intri- Furniture, Toys, Crockery, &c. gues of the Opposition? Let our response now and in November be, NEVER! PEE DEE. Sept. 3d, 1860.

For the Journal. WILMINGTON, N. C., Sept. 5th, 1860. Mr. Editor: - I observe in your paper, a card issued by the census-taker, (Mr. S. Ashe,) requesting all citizens of Wilmington whom he has not been able to see, to leave taste. In regard to the platform adopted by the Convention their names and residences at the office of the Wilmington which nominated Mr. Bell, of Tennessee, and Mr. Everett, Herald. It is important that this should be done, as, not of Massachusetts, I have only to say that, certainly, it announces no principle at all upon this subject—none whatev-I hope every one who has not given in his census will

he office mentioned.

REV M. B. GRIER .- The numerous friends of this beoved brother will be happy to hear that his health has improved during his northern trip, and there is reason to hope that he will return to his charge in a few weeks, fully restored and enabled to resume his pastoral work. twelve dozen-a beautiful Lithrograph Show-Card scoon-N. C. Presbyterian.

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JONES' HOTEL. THE SUBSCRIBER would respectfully inform his friends and the public, that he has purchased the lease and furaffairs, and commented on it at some length and with much opinions we urged on all proper occasions, but we did not think that any man who approves my principles must be a were disposed to count noses, I doubt not there are many portant additions will be put in this month, so that the old more of the same character who sustain other gentlemen and well known Jones Hotel will be second to none in the upon platforms not so Constitutional and desirable as mine. city, as a home for the men of business or pleasure. Charges moeerate, and every exertion will be made to merit a liberal share of patronage. AARON GAGE. March 19th, 1860 166-1m-30-1y. CO-PARTNERSHIP NOTICE.

THE UNDERSIGNED have entered into Co-Partnership in the town of Wilmington, N. C., under the firm and style of SOUTHERLAND & COLEMAN, for the purpose of buying and selling NEGRO SLAVES, where the highest cash prices will be paid. They also have a house in Mobile, Alabama, where they will receive and sell Slaves on commission. Liberal advances made upon Slaves left with them for sale.

D. J. SOUTHERLAND. JAMES C. COLEMAN. August 1st, 1859.

GEORGE KIDD'S COTTON GIN. THE UNDERSIGNED have received the agency for the sale of the above Cotton Gin in the State of North Carolina, to which Gin is attached McLendon's late valuable improvement, and would call the attention of Cotton farmers tached, is made to pick one-third more cotton per day, and

making a difference of one-half cent per pound more in the

staple than the ordinary Gin. It takes the Cotton off of the

great many years. All persons desirous of purchasing Cotton Gins would do clearly demonstrated, and the entirely new and highly successful to apply to the Cotton Gins would do clearly demonstrated, and the entirely new and highly successful. well to apply to the Subscibers, who will take pleasure in cessful treatment, as adopted by the celebrated author full giving all the information in the interest which to current the control of the celebrated author full giving all the information in the celebrated author full giving all the information in the celebrated author full giving all the information in the celebrated author full giving all the information in the celebrated author full giving all the information in the celebrated author full giving all the information in the celebrated author full giving all the information in the celebrated author full giving all the information in the celebrated author full giving all the information in the celebrated author full giving all the information in the celebrated author full giving all the information in the celebrated author full giving all the information in the celebrated author full giving all the information in the celebrated author full giving all the information in the celebrated author full giving all the information in the celebrated author full giving all the information in the celebrated author full giving all the information in the celebrated author full giving all the celebrated author full giving a celebrated author giving all the information in their possession relative to the explained, by means of which every one is enabled to cure merits of the late improvement. JAS. T. PETTEWAY & CO.,

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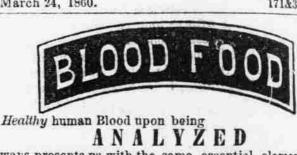
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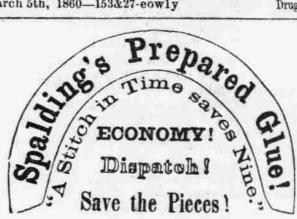
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stand any climate.

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All orders for Schemes or Tickets to be addressed to DON RODRIGUEZ, care of City Post, Charleston, S. C."
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July 17, 1860.

WILMINGTON FOUNDRY AND MACHINE SHOP, FRONT STREET, (BELOW MARKET STREET,)

Wilmington, N. C. BRASS AND IRON CASTINGS, finished or unfinished new Machinery made and put up; old Machinery over handed; all binds of Architecture. hauled; all kinds of Patterns, Ornamental and Architectural ral; will supply Drafts of all kinds of Machinery and Mill

Work generally. All work warranted to be as represented. Orders Also Turpentine Stills and Copper Work in all its branches

November 11th, 1859—11-1y.